

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAJ-01 SWF-02 AID-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00

COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 CIEP-02

SP-03 STR-08 TRSE-00 LAB-06 SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSC-07 PA-04 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-15 FEA-02 SCI-06 INT-08 IO-14 DRC-01 /188 W

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R 051833Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9387

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: EEC, UK

SUBJECT: "FINANCIAL TIMES" ON TIMING OF RENEGOTIATION
AND NEXT ELECTION

SUMMARY: APRIL 5, "FINANCIAL TIMES" POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT DAVID WATT IN HALF PAGE, OPP ED COLUMN,
ENTITLED "LABOR'S COMMON MARKET BLINKERS," SAYS
POMPIDOU'S DEATH WILL POSTPONE BEGINNING OF RENEGOTIATION
UNTIL LATE MAY AND THUS EC MEMBERSHIP CAN NOT BE AN
ISSUE IF ELECTION IS CALLED IN JUNE. BRITAIN'S
EC PARTNERS THUS HAVE STRONG INCENTIVE TO PLAY FOR TIME.
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HOWEVER, IF LABOR DOES WIN THE NEXT ELECTION, PERHAPS

IN OCTOBER, PRESSURES FOR REFERENDUM WILL BECOME VERY GREAT. WATT CONCLUDES THAT "UNDER LABOR THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR AT PRESENT IS A STATIC MARKET. THAT IS BETTER THAN NOTHING, BUT IT IS STILL A SAD OUTLOOK."
END SUMMARY

1. WATT SAID THAT DEATH OF PRESIDENT POMPIDOU AND FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN'S SPEECH APRIL 1 ON RENEGOTIATING TERMS OF ENTRY HAVE BROUGHT EUROPE TO A PERIOD MORE DANGEROUS AND CONFUSED THAN ANY SINCE THE MID-50S. WEAK OR UNCERTAIN GOVERNMENTS IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND GERMANY; NATIONALIST BICKERING, MENACING EXTERNAL PRESSURES, BOTH ECONOMIC AND MILITARY, WEAK AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND ENERGY CRISIS CREATE BACKDROP FOR LAST ACT OF "GOTTERDAMMERUNG."

2. SOMBERNESS OF THIS GENERAL PICTURE MAKES GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO EUROPEAN QUESTION SEEM BLIND. IT IS EASY TO CRITICIZE THE FAILURES OF THE COMMUNITY BUT LESS EASY TO SEE WHAT MIGHT REPLACE IT. YET THE GOVERNMENT HAS GAILY EMBARKED ON A COURSE WHICH COULD LEAD TO WITHDRAWAL AND VIRTUAL COLLAPSE OF EEC, AND HAS DONE SO WITHOUT DISCUSSION OF HOW IT PROPOSES TO FACE THE SITUATION WITHDRAWAL WOULD CREATE. IF LABOR GOVERNMENT BELIEVES UK CAN TAKE ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS IN SINGLE COMBAT AFTER EXPERIENCE IN FIRST FOUR WEEKS IN OFFICE OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, LECTURES FROM DR. KISSINGER, AND THE SHARP REPLIES OF THE EIGHT TO MR. CALLAGHAN, IT MUST BE BLIND INDEED.

3. THEIR PERCEPTION OF THIS POINT CAUSES BOTH PRO-MARKET POLITICIANS AND CIVIL SERVANTS TO HOPE FOR THE BEST, BECAUSE THEY CANNOT BELIEVE THAT AN UNDOUBTEDLY INTELLIGENT LABOR CABINET WOULD ABDICATE ITS GREAT RESPONSIBILITY. AS THEY SEE IT, CALLAGHAN'S SPEECH WAS GRACELESS, BUT HE AS TO CARRY THE PARTY WITH HIM. HE KNOWS BRITAIN COULD NOT AFFORD TO NEGOTIATE WITHDRAWAL, BUT HE COULDN'T ADMIT THIS WHILE DISCUSSIONS ARE IN PROGRESS. THIS OPTIMISTIC VIEW CAN BE BUTTRESSED BY SOME TACTICAL CALCULATIONS.
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DEATH OF POMPIDOU HAS MADE FUTURE BRITISH MEMBERSHIP marginally more secure, not merely because new French government will be more amenable (although Germans will provide strong opposition to British efforts to renegotiate), but chiefly because events in France have altered British government timetable. Renegotiation cannot now begin until well into second half of May.

4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD ONLY IN
CONTEXT OF WILSON'S OTHER TACTICAL DIFFICULTIES. BEST
POSSIBLE MOMENT FOR LABOR TO CALL ELECTION TO REQUEST
FIRM MANDATE IS JUNE, BY WHICH TIME PUBLIC WILL HAVE
BECOME USED TO NEW GOVERNMENT BUT MOST UNPOPULAR
EFFECTS OF BUDGET WILL NOT HAVE COME INTO EFFECT.
HOWEVER, CALLING ELECTION NEEDS AN EXCUSE AND COMMON
MARKET CANNOT FORM EXCUSE FOR JUNE ELECTION. EC
MIGHT PROVIDE ELECTION ISSUE IN OCTOBER, BUT BY THEN
LABOR GOVERNMENT WILL BE MORE IN THE HABIT OF DEALING
WITH THE COMMUNITY. IT FOLLOWS THAT BRITAIN'S PARTNERS
HAVE EVERY INCENTIVE TO PLAY FOR TIME.

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5. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS MAY NOT BE ENOUGH. WILSON MAY FIND ANOTHER GOOD ISSUE IN JUNE, OR WIN HIS MANDATE IN OCTOBER, IN WHICH CASE IT WOULD BE MOST UNWISE FOR PRO-MARKETEERS TO TAKE AN OVER OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROBABLE COURSE OF ACTION. THE TIDE OF ISOLATIONISM IS STILL RUNNING VERY STRONG IN THE LABOR PARTY, AND THE PRESSURES WITHIN THE PARTY FOR A REFERENDUM WOULD BECOME VERY GREAT. IN REFERENDUM, EVEN IF GOVERNMENT LEFT IT TO PEOPLE TO DECIDE WITHOUT SEEKING INFLUENCE RESULT, PUBLIC RESPONSE WOULD PROBABLY BE NEGATIVE.

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6. LOOKING ON THE BRIGHTSIDE, ONE MIGHT SAY THAT SUCCESSFUL RENEGOTIATION COULD BE SOLD TO PUBLIC BUT IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT LABOR'S DEFINITION OF SUCCESS HAS BECOME RIGID, AND AS HOSTILITY TO THE MARKET IS THE KEYNOTE BOTH OF THE LABOR PARTY AND PUBLIC OPINION, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR PRO-MARKET ARGUMENTS TO GET A PROPER HEARING. EVEN IF RENEGOTIATION IS SUCCESSFUL, NO LABOR GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO TAKE THE KIND OF PLUNGE INTO EUROPE WHICH MIGHT MAKE THE WHOLE ENTERPRISE WORTHWHILE. UNDER LABOR THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR AT PRESENT IS A STATIC MARKET. THAT IS BETTER THAN NOTHING, BUT IT IS STILL A SAD OUTLOOK.

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